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CLASS: SECRET
CHRG: PRCG 04/29/94
APPRV: S/S:JCCVEY
JMFID: ECON:EJRREVER
CAMP

2.S/S-S:MLFMP
3. EAP:PWOLFOWITZ
DISTR: S/S10 AME ECM
CHRON 12/RR

E.O. 12356: DECL: CATR

TAGS: CVIP (SPULTZ, GEORGE P.), CH, US

SUBJECT: VFPBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF THE SECRETARY'S
MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER WU, APRIL 28,
1984, GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE, 5:30-6:35 PM

1. SECRET--ENTIRE TEXT

2. SECRETARY SPULTZ MET WITH CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER
WU XUEQIAN AT 5:30 PM, APRIL 28, IN THE GREAT HALL OF
THE PEOPLE, PEIJING. IN ATTENDANCE AT THE MEETING
WERE:

U.S. PARTICIPANTS:

SECRETARY SPULTZ
AMBASSADOR FUMMEL
PAUL WOLFOWITZ
RICHARD ARMITAGE
GASTON SIGUR
JOHN HUGHES
DONALD ANDERSON
CHARLES FREEMAN
RAYMOND SPITZ
VIVIAN CFANG, INTERPRETER
EVANS PEPPER, NOTETAKER
DONALD CAMP, NOTETAKER

CHINESE PARTICIPANTS:

WU XUEQIAN, STATE COUNCILLOR AND MINISTER OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ZHANG WENJIN, PRC AMBASSADOR TO THE US
HAN XU, VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ZHU QIZHEN, ASSISTANT MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
QI HUAIYUAN, DIRECTOR OF THE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ZHANG WENPU, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN AND
OCEANIAN DEPARTMENT, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS
LI BACHENG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN AND
OCEANIAN DEPARTMENT, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS
WANG LI, DIVISION CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN
DEPARTMENT, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INTERPRETER
TWO NOTETAKERS

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United States Department of State
Office of Pol, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: Martens, R
Date: 10/13/96
Case ID: 9403673

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3. A VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF THE MEETING FOLLOWS:

SECRETARY SHULTZ: WE'RE AT SOMETHING OF A TURNING POINT IN OUR RELATIONSHIP.

F.M. WU: YOU'VE COME TO THE GREAT WALL.

SHULTZ: YES, I CAN ASSURE YOU IT'S STILL THERE. IT'S MOST IMPRESSIVE. IT'S AMAZING THAT YOU CAN CONSTRUCT SUCH A STRUCTURE WITH SUCH VALLEYS AND HEIGHTS.

WU: I UNDERSTAND THAT FROM SATELLITES THE GREAT WALL IS ALSO VISIBLE TO THE NAKED EYE. IT IS THE ONLY MAN-MADE OBJECT ON EARTH THAT CAN BE SEEN FROM SPACE.

SHULTZ: SO I UNDERSTAND. IT IS VISIBLE FROM THE SPACE SHUTTLE AND YOU CAN SEE IT BECAUSE IT'S SO LARGE.

WU: WE'VE TAKEN SPECIAL MEASURES TO MAKE SURE THAT YOU COULD COME BACK IN SUCH A SHORT TIME SINCE THERE ARE SO MANY TOURISTS. NOW WE ARE BUILDING A NEW ROAD IN HUAI RAO COUNTY WHICH IS ALSO VERY BEAUTIFUL.

SHULTZ: (REFERRING TO THE NEW ROAD TO THE GREAT WALL) YES, THE ROAD WILL BE STRAIGHTENED OUT, I UNDERSTAND, AND WON'T WIND AROUND SO MUCH.

WU: NO, I'M TALKING ABOUT ANOTHER ROAD IN THE NORTHEAST PART OF BEIJING MUNICIPALITY.

SHULTZ: WE SHOULD START WORK. WE DON'T HAVE MUCH TIME.

SHULTZ: WE HAVE TO STOP AT 6:30 IN ORDER TO GET TO THE RECEPTION.

WU: [REDACTED]

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0000 WE: NOW WE'LL TURN TO THE FORMAL PART OF THE MEETING.
 I'D LIKE TO HAVE YOUR VIEWS ON HOW TO PROCEED.

0020 SHULTZ: THERE ARE QUITE A WIDE VARIETY OF MATTERS--
 0040 SOME FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS, SOME HAVING TO DO WITH
 "LATERAL MATTERS.

0050 OF THE FOREIGN POLICY SIDE, I THINK THE MOST PERTINENT
 0070 ONE IS KOREA. WE HAVE SOME THOUGHTS ON THAT AND I KNOW
 0090 YOU DO TOO. I THINK WE SHOULD TAKE WHATEVER TIME IS
 NECESSARY ON THIS QUESTION.

0100 WE KNOW THAT THE GENERAL SECRETARY (HU YAOPANG) IS
 0120 PLANNING TO TAKE A TRIP TO KOREA AND AS YOU KNOW I TOLD
 0140 YOU THAT I WOULD BE GOING TO KOREA BRIEFLY AFTER LEAVING
 0160 HERE. THEN I WOULD REJOIN THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY.

0180 SECOND, THE PREMIER [REDACTED] AND
 0200 SUGGESTED THAT WE DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST. WE WOULD
 0220 WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THAT PROBLEM.

0240 THIRD, SOME COMMENTS WERE MADE AT VARIOUS MEETINGS--
 0260 INCLUDING THIS MORNING--ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITU-
 0280 ATION. IT'S A VERY COMPLICATED PROBLEM AND WE'D BE
 0300 GLAD TO GIVE YOU OUR VIEWS. IT'S ONE OF THOSE SITU-
 0320 ATIONS WHERE THERE'S CLEARLY PROGRESS BUT YOU HAVE TO
 0340 KEEP YOUR FINGERS CROSSED. WE HOPE THAT PROGRESS CAN
 0360 CONTINUE, BUT WE WANT TO KEEP YOU APPREAST OF THE
 SITUATION.

0380 DON'T KNOW THAT WE HAVE MUCH TO ADD ABOUT KAMPUCHEA.
 0400 HAD A VERY GOOD VISIT WITH PRIME MINISTER PREM.
 0420 FOREIGN MINISTER SITTING WITH HIM. JUST A FEW DAYS
 0440 AGO. WE'RE CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO HELP THE THAI'S
 0460 AS WELL AS OTHER THINGS YOU'RE AWARE WE'RE DOING WHICH

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WE'VE EXPANDED A BIT. I HAVE A COUPLE OF THINGS I'D
LIKE TO CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION BY WAY OF CENTRAL
AMERICA--SOME EVENTS THAT ARE COMING UP AND MAY HAVE
AN IMPACT ON THE SITUATION THERE.

FINALLY, ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, THE SUBJECT OF ARMS
CONTROL IS ONE THAT HAS COME UP IN EACH MEETING.
THERE'S NO POINT IN OUR GOING THROUGH EVERY FORUM
WHERE WE'RE DISCUSSING THIS ISSUE, BUT IF YOU'RE
INTERESTED IN DOING SO, I SUGGEST WE CAN COME UP WITH
A PROCEDURE TO DISCUSS THIS ON A REGULAR BASIS. WE
HAVE A SUGGESTION ON THAT.
ON BILATERAL ISSUES, THE PREMIER CAME UP WITH A FEW
POINTS--SUCH AS GSF--AND WE CAN TALK ABOUT THAT A LITTLE
BIT. HE ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF EXIM CREDITS AND
WE CAN DISCUSS THAT FURTHER.

BEYOND THAT, I'D LIKE TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO SOME
PROBLEMS IN THE CONSULAR AREA AND WE HAVE SOME PERPETUAL
PROBLEMS WITH HUGUANG PONDS. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THIS
MANY TIMES AND WE UNDERSTAND YOUR POSITION, BUT WE CAN
RAISE THAT.

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THESE ARE THE AREAS WE'D LIKE TO DISCUSS.

WU: BASICALLY, I AGREE TO WHAT YOU SAID AND WE HAVE SEVERAL ADDITIONAL ITEMS TO ADD. WE ALSO HAVE SEVERAL BILATERAL ISSUES TO RAISE.

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SHALL WE START FROM THE QUESTION OF KOREA AND SEE HOW MANY QUESTIONS WE CAN TOUCH TODAY AND THEN WE CAN FINISH TOMORROW.

SFULTZ: WOULD YOU LIKE ME TO BEGIN?

WU: YES.

SFULTZ: FIRST OF ALL, LET ME SAY THAT WE BELIEVE THAT OUR FORCES IN KOREA HAVE A STABILIZING EFFECT AS HAVE OUR FORCES IN JAPAN.

WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF WITHDRAWING THEM UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. IT WAS HARD TO UNDERSTAND THE (COMMUNIST PARTY) GENERAL SECRETARY'S COMMENTS AT THE END OF THE MEETING AND I DON'T THINK HE WAS EXPECTING US TO DO ANYTHING CONCRETE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. BUT I WANTED TO SAY THAT THE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWING OUR TROOPS IN THE NEAR FUTURE IS NOT AN OPERATIVE QUESTION.

I'M SURE WE DO AGREE THAT IT'S A TENSE SITUATION AND AS A STARTING POINT FOR OUR DISCUSSIONS, I KNOW WE BOTH WANT TO SEE TENSIONS REDUCED. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID, HE WAS IN KOREA AND VISITED THE DMZ AND YOU CAN ALMOST FEEL THE TENSION. I IMAGINE YOU'VE PROBABLY BEEN THERE YOURSELF. IT'S AN UNDESIRABLE SITUATION, I'M SURE YOU'LL AGREE.

WE STRUGGLED VERY HARD WITH OUR SOUTH KOREAN FRIENDS AFTER THE MURDER OF VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT IN RANGOON IN ORDER TO PERSUADE THEM THEY SHOULDN'T RETALIATE AND START SOMETHING THAT MIGHT TURN INTO A GENERAL CONFLAGRATION. WE'RE HAPPY THAT THEY DIDN'T DO THAT BUT THAT ONLY ILLUSTRATES THAT WE MUST CLOSELY PAY ATTENTION TO THE SITUATION.

IT'S HARD TO RELAX TENSIONS IF PEOPLE WON'T TALK TO EACH OTHER. THAT'S WHY BOTH OF US HAVE BEEN TRYING TO FIND A FORMULA. I SUPPOSE WE AGREE THAT THE BEST THING THAT COULD HAPPEN WOULD BE FOR BOTH SIDES TO TALK TO EACH OTHER, BY THEMSELVES. THE REASON WHY WE RESIST THE TRIPARTITE FORMULA IS THAT IT SEEMS TO COME FORWARD

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FROM NORTH KOREA IN THE SPIRIT OF NORTH KOREA'S WANTING
TO TALK WITH THE U.S. AND BEING WILLING TO PERMIT SOUTH
KOREA TO SIT IN. IT PUTS THEM DOWN IN A WAY THEY WON'T
ACCEPT. AND WE AGREE. BEYOND THAT, THE AGENDA THEY
WANT TO MAKE THE CENTERPIECE FOR DISCUSSION ESSENTIALLY
AS TO DO WITH A TROOP WITHDRAWAL, INSTEAD OF THE TALKS
BEING A VEHICLE FOR THE TWO KOREAS TO TALK TO EACH
OTHER. AT THE SAME TIME, WE CAN UNDERSTAND WHY YOU
MAY BE RELUCTANT TO SEE A STRUCTURE WHEREBY THE U.S.
AND CPINA WERE SITTING BEHIND THE TABLE URGING THE
TWO SIDES TO TALK. WE CAN SEE THAT DIFFICULTY, BUT
IT COULD ALSO HELP NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED ON. AT ANY
RATE, THESE ARGUMENTS WHICH COULD BE SAID TO INVOLVE
THE SHAPE OF THE TABLE SHOULDN'T BE ALLOWED TO STOP
DOING THINGS THAT COULD REDUCE TENSION. WE SHOULD TAKE
ACTION TO AVOID THIS:

WE THINK OF THREE CATEGORIES WHICH MIGHT BE PUSHED A
LITTLE AND WHICH MIGHT HAVE THE EFFECT OF REDUCING
TENSION AND MIGHT EVEN LEAD TO FULLER DISCUSSIONS. ONE
CATEGORY WAS TO DO WITH THE OLYMPIC GAMES. WE HAVE OF
COURSE BEEN DEALING WITH NORTH KOREA IN TERMS OF THE
GAMES IN LOS ANGELES. THERE IS A PROPOSAL WHICH I
SUPPOSE WON'T MATERIALIZE BY SUMMER. THIS IS THE

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PROPOSAL TO HAVE JOINT OLYMPIC GAMES FOR THE TWO KOREAS. THIS IS A VERY INTERESTING IDEA. CHINA SHOULD CONSIDER TELLING NORTH KOREA HOW IT FEELS ABOUT OLYMPIC MATTERS AND THE U.S. SHOULD CONSIDER TELLING SOUTH KOREA HOW IT FEELS ABOUT THE OLYMPICS. THIS COULD HELP THE TWO SIDES.

THE SECOND CATEGORY HAS TO DO WITH THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF THE DIVISION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA—THAT IS, CORRESPONDENCE AND VISITS BETWEEN FAMILY MEMBERS. WE HAVE NOTED AND WELCOMED VERY MUCH YOUR DECISION TO PERMIT FAMILY EXCHANGES AMONG ETHNIC KOREANS. WE HAVE TAKEN STEPS OURSELVES SO THAT WE DON'T RESTRICT PRIVATE AMERICAN CITIZENS FROM VISITING NORTH KOREA. THERE HAVE BEEN AMERICANS THAT HAVE VISITED NORTH KOREA. THIS IS GOOD IN HUMAN TERMS IN ITS OWN RIGHT. BUT IT SEEMS THAT WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE TWO KOREAS TO ALLOW MORE CONTACT BETWEEN PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES, BEGINNING WITH CORRESPONDENCE. AFTER THAT, THEY COULD PERHAPS BEGIN TO VISIT. THIS WOULD BE VERY CONSTRUCTIVE. SOUTH KOREA HAS PROPOSED THIS REPEATEDLY BUT HASN'T GOTTEN A POSITIVE RESPONSE.

THE THIRD THING, THE LAST THING IS MORE FORMAL. THERE IS A MILITARY ARMISTICE COMMISSION. WE DON'T HAVE TO ARGUE WHETHER IT EXISTS OR NOT; IT DOES EXIST. IT'S A MEANS OF DISCUSSION. WE THINK DISCUSSION OF SOME THINGS IN THE COMMISSION WOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE. WE HAVE TO DISCUSS CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND SOME OF THESE THAT ARE ALREADY ON THE TABLE ARE:

- 1) MUTUAL NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY EXERCISES;
- 2) EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MILITARY EXERCISES;
- 3) EFFORTS TO MAKE A MORE GENUINE DEMILITARIZATION OF THE DMZ. AS YOU KNOW, THE DMZ IS SUPPOSED TO BE DEMILITARIZED BUT IN FACT IT IS NOT. AND.
- 4) USE OF A NEUTRAL NATIONS SUPERVISORY COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE INCIDENTS IN THE DMZ.

NONE OF THESE ARE EARTH-SHAKING, BUT IF THEY WERE AGREED UPON OR IF ONE OR TWO WERE AGREED UPON, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL.

SO THESE ARE SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE SITUATION IN KOREA. WE AGREE WITH YOU THAT IT'S A VERY TENSE AND UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION ON THE PENINSULA AND WE SHOULD DO WHAT WE CAN TO REDUCE TENSIONS.

WU: THANK YOU

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Fullpage Redaction

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SHULTZ: I HAVE TWO THINGS I'D LIKE TO RAISE IF I COULD.
I HAVE TWO LETTERS I'VE BEEN ASKED TO DELIVER: ONE
FROM A SENATOR AND ONE FROM A CONGRESSMAN. THEY HAVE
TO DO WITH THE PROBLEMS OF [REDACTED] I WILL PASS
THESE ALONG WITH MY ENDORSEMENT. BUT ANYWAY I'M
PLAYING THE POSTMAN.

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Q: WHAT TIME DO WE MEET TOMORROW MORNING?

SHULTZ: WE'LL MEET AT 8:30.

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WD: IS THAT TOO EARLY?

SHULTZ: NO.

DU: WHERE WILL WE MEET?

FREEMAN: DIAOYUTAI.

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